World Studies in Education **Vol. 12, no. 1, 2011**

 pp. 61-86

Revisiting the case for history in the New Zealand curriculum

Robert Guyver
University College Plymouth St Mark and St John

Abstract

Some of the arguments for keeping 'history' as such out of the school curriculum in New Zealand can be challenged on the grounds of both international research and public interest. There is increasing acceptance of the value of a disciplinary approach to the teaching and learning of history, including examples of where this has been converted into historical thinking and historical literacy. Another justification for the exclusion of history from schools has been a perception that the subject can be manipulated to support a particular and politically-motivated view of the nation and its trajectory. However, history can be defended against this if teachers and teacher educators hold to a position which presents history as a fundamentally contestable subject allowing for multiple narratives which reflect plural identities. Nevertheless, there is still room for debate about the kind of civic society and model of citizenship that any nation, including New Zealand, would wish to promote for its schools. Within a good history curriculum there must be opportunities for deep history and correspondingly deep understanding, and an acknowledgement that as New Zealand has the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) as its founding document, there must be a commitment, when seeking to contextualising New Zealand's historical development, to empower teachers to become partners in what is essentially a hermeneutical enterprise, in which there can be engagement in 'live' historiography involving negotiation between sometimes conflicting narratives with deep knowledge, honesty and openness. Thus any pedagogical methods which include dialogic teaching and learning are to be encouraged as they run parallel with the aims and objectives of inclusive, participatory, representative and democratic citizenship, as well as the community co-construction of local histories.

Keywords: negotiation, narrative, micronarrative, counter narrative, hermeneutics, disciplinary, historical thinking, historical literacy, civic society, knowledge bases, significance, citizenship, public interest, Maori, Treaty of Waitangi

Concerns about the Place of History in the Social Sciences Curriculum

In many ways the internal structures of Social Studies (named Social Sciences since 2007) contain the essence of good practice in history teaching and learning. History can be found in this curriculum in various forms. In Levels 1 – 5 arguably all four of the embedded strands (*Identity Culture and Organisation, Place and Environment, Continuity and Change* and *the Economic World*) could have historical content, although clearly *Continuity and Change* has to have a historical dimension as indeed does *Identity, Culture and Organisation*. In Levels 6 -8, history is mentioned specifically and is associated with 'events that are of significance to New Zealanders'. At Level 6 perspectives can be found; at 7, interpretation is important; and at Level 8 both complexity and contestation are included. In an undated document available on the Ministry of Education New Zealand Curriculum website – a document whose authorship is not acknowledged, and in which the details of the references are not specified in a list at the end, *A Position Paper: Social Studies in the New Zealand School Curriculum*, four traditions are examined (referenced to 'Barr, Barth and Shermis in their seminal work *The Nature of Social Studies* (1978) and later writers like Marsh (1987), Hill (1994), and Gilbert (1996)'): social studies is considered as citizenship transmission, as a social science, as critical and reflective thinking, and as personal, social and ethical empowerment. This Position Paper provides definitions of values enquiry, social enquiry and social action, but also gives a useful analysis of the inter-relationship of 'facts, concepts, understandings and generalisations in social studies', drawing on an example from the history of the Plains Indians, an example which has some resonance with the experience of Maori in New Zealand. The way of life of the Plains Indians is contextualized in its close association with buffalo herds, and the concepts of change and exploitation are linked to the this loss of lifestyle, set in the parameters of values enquiry and social enquiry. Thus history is not seen as a free-standing discipline but as a contributing element to a larger enquiry. The anonymous authorship points out (citing Hill, 1994) that

> … society is justified in seeking to pass on these values but that in doing so (at least in part) through schools and subjects like social studies there is a delicate balance between indoctrination on the one hand and a false 'neutrality' or values relativism on the other.

But despite what seem to be deep concerns over citizenship issues, there is no programme within the formal published New Zealand curriculum that guarantees a structured history education for *all* stu-

dents at any stage of their school careers. This has been criticised or at least questioned both within New Zealand and outside (Low-Beer, 1985; Stenson, 1990; Belich, 2001; Else in Dalley & Phillips, 2001; Catherall 2002a, 2002b; Guyver, 2007, 2008; Sheehan, 2010, 2011). Will students on leaving school have been given sufficient opportunity to build meaningful and contextualised maps of their own pasts and of the past around them? But is it as simple as this? Peter Seixas has identified three paradigms of school history: heritage and the sharing of collective memory, disciplinary, and postmodern, and he outlines the reasons for an epistemological blind alley that has sometimes led to the teaching of no history at all. His argument goes something like this: there is no consensus on the heritage view of history; a disciplinary approach is better; but once the disciplinary approach is examined we discover postmodernism which undermines the rationale of the modern liberal state, by setting out its limitations. Nevertheless, in his conclusion he asserts that:

> To historicise history is to understand that today's methods for establishing truth are no more than today's methods. And yet, that is not to say that we have no way of establishing a complex, multiperspectival historical truth for our time. To deny students an education in those methods, then, is to exclude them from full participation in contemporary culture. (Seixas, in Stearns et al., 2000: 34-35)

Anna Clark (2009), drawing widely on Seixas's work, presents an empirical study which compares public debates in Australia and Canada about history education, and identifies two of the above three categories which reveal conflicting interpretations. One is young people's knowledge of the history of the nation, and the other is historical thinking. After interviewing a number of teenagers in both countries she concludes that the apparently simple answer of creating what she refers to as national history literacy through methods including recitation is an approach that will not work, and that critical historical engagement that reflects the complexity of the subject and of the issues at stake is the only solution which will address the levels of apathy faced by teachers. It may however be premature to regard the approaches as alternatives when the object of the critical engagement might well be interpretations of the national narrative (or indeed of national 'narratives'). There must be a knowledge base requirement before critical thinking can take place. This problem might be an example of what Gadamer refers to as 'the faith in "unconstrained dialogue"', which can only really be addressed through contextualisation, and this in itself reflects Gadamer's concerns about the tensions between 'truth' and 'method':

> What distinguishes the process of refining hermeneutic practice from acquiring a mere technique, whether it is called social technology or critical method, is that in hermeneutics history co-determines the consciousness of the person who understands. Therein lies an essential reversal: what is understood always develops a certain power of convincing that helps form new convictions. (Gadamer 1975 [2004]: 570)

The national story is itself complex, indeed it consists of several parallel and sometimes competing narratives, and can indeed be approached critically. This supplies a natural context for historical thinking, and therefore it is possible to have both approaches together. But the national story is not free-standing – it can be set in further regional and international contexts, and students need to be given the opportunity to see in their own localities microhistorical examples of national, regional and global developments.

What led to the current situation in New Zealand?

Resistance to old-fashioned school history is associated with several factors: political, socio-cultural, pedagogical and professional. The Thomas Report (New Zealand Department of Education, 1943) was very influential and coincided with a re-alignment of Commonwealth states at a crucial point in the Second World War. The influence of a neo-Deweyan citizenship focus is clearly another factor. Social Studies was seen as a solution because it was relevant and oriented to both the present and the future where New Zealand might face economic pressures, and education for the world of work would be a priority over and above any purely academic considerations for the majority of the population. Thus, rather than teach a traditional and essentially colonial Anglo-centric or even Euro-centric history curriculum those schools deciding on the curriculum made choices within a Social Studies structure that amounted to rejecting traditional history or an adoption of a history that was seen to relate directly to issues of current social or political concern.

But attempts at inclusion were not without difficulties. In an increasingly bi-cultural society Maori history (especially when seen as *taonga* [a treasured possession] and belonging [possibly exclusively] to the *iwi* [tribe]) was based on its own ontology and concept of chronology, depended heavily on oral sources and was not only difficult to access but also included some controversial aspects associated with wars involving Maori, including the Musket Wars (1818–1833), the Northern War (1845–46) and the New Zealand Wars, otherwise known as Maori Wars or Land Wars (1860s–1872). However, Maori history is clearly in a state of transformation with the representation of historians on the Waitangi Tribunal, although this species of histo-

ry, closely associated with land compensation claims is not without its controversial aspects (Belgrave in Dalley & Phillips, 2001; Byrnes in Dalley & Phillips, 2001). Nevertheless, some significant steps have been taken to add to Maori historiography. A notable example of this is the late Judith Binney and her *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera 1820-1921* (2009) telling the story of the Ngai Tuhoe people. Publisher Bridget Williams writes in an obituary,

> Her own words speak of her dedication to the writing and teaching of history in New Zealand: 'If we who live in the present in Aotearoa can discuss our shared history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, then we may gain from the past. If we cannot do this, then we will have learnt nothing from the past and we will have exchanged nothing with each other'. (Binney in Williams, 2011).

Christopher Finlayson (2011) described how by using oral history Binney had recovered 'the lost history of Te Urewera, the Ngai Tuhoe people and members of neighbouring iwi such as Ngati Whare'.

The image of Maori mainly as warriors (Openshaw in Nozaki et al., 2005) was resisted especially after the setting up of the Waitangi Tribunal when Maori agency became even more of a driving and coherent force in the political life of New Zealand (Ranginui Walker, 2004; Hill in Byrnes, 2009). Similarly the patronising picture of Maori life as presented in *Washday at the Pa* (Westra, 1964) came to be seen as a vehicle which confirmed stereotypes and failed to reflect the urban drift in Maori demographics (Openshaw in Nozaki et al., 2005). Interestingly it was the Maori Women's Welfare League, and Mrs J. Heta speaking on behalf of Ngtai Porou, who objected at the time to *Washday at the pa* as showing living conditions that were not typical of Maori life, even in remote areas. With Maori sharing political power with National after the 2008 Election, and with the announcement of a constitutional review which will include the role of the Treaty of Waitangi within New Zealand's constitutional arrangements, Maori history has entered a new phase.

There were other factors which prevented history from having a secure place in the curriculum. History was seen as a difficult subject especially for younger children, who found concepts of the duration of time cognitively challenging in the Early Years. Also, a prescribed history curriculum went against teachers' preference for and a strong sense of right to curricular autonomy. However there remain doubts about teachers' rights to absolute autonomy in a society that values the rights and entitlements of children, students and parents. What may be more accessible is the debate about teachers' professionalism

when seen against various curriculum models. The notion of compliance to a politically-imposed history curriculum would be regarded as unprofessional, whereas a model which seeks to develop professional expertise and knowledge in a community of researched and shared good practice would be deemed desirable and fostering instrinsic rather extrinsic motivation (Codd, 1997, in Locke et al., 2005). The work of Aitken & Sinnema (2008) synthesising good, or 'best', practice is in this tradition. Practice in the teaching and learning of history in higher secondary stages forms part of their report which draws on the work of Jada Kohlmeier (2006) on bringing a Socratic and therefore dialogic approach to the interpretation of texts.

As a senior subject, history was regarded as an elite and almost purely academic curriculum area suitable only for potential university entrants. Within the senior subject choices there seemed to be little consensual concern for guaranteeing core content which would enhance deeper understanding of New Zealand history, with many teachers competing to retain Tudor and Stuart Britain rather than reject it in favour of New Zealand history. In many ways though this is a false dilemma. This British history topic covered a strange chronological span (1558-1667) that started after the Reformation and ended before the so-called (English) Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. This esoteric choice seemed to be based on teacher preference and resource availability, and was decreasingly allied to choice in New Zealand's universities where this topic was ceasing to have a prominent place (Sheehan, 2008, 2011).

The Search for a Bridging Narrative and a Corresponding Curriculum Structure

What is really surprising is that no one took seriously the possibility that a bridging narrative between the Stuarts (1603-1714) and the post-contact history of New Zealand (from 1769) might cover a period of world history that was very significant for New Zealand. There are two points about this, one is that such a continuous and connecting narrative might be attempted earlier in students' school life, and the other is that despite its potential for controversy, the expansion of the British Empire and all of the political, economic, social, scientific, industrial and cultural factors associated with it, is a key part of the story of New Zealand. Three kinds of narratives are needed: the British Empire narrative, the Maori counter-narrative, and a fusing narrative which plots the inter-relationships of the period which involved both settlement and unsettlement. The last requires the greatest skill because it involves negotiating between the narratives with epistemic honesty or virtue (Levisohn, 2010).

The study of the so-called Enlightenment period which stretches, arguably, from the mid- to late 17th century to the beginnings of the 19th has caused some difficulties in the recent history of efforts to write a history curriculum within New Zealand's trans-Tasman neighbouring state, Australia. There have been dualised, politicised views about it (broadly described as the 'black armband' and 'whitewash' camps; see Macintyre & Clark, 2004; Taylor in Taylor & Guyver, 2011). A particular interpretation of the Enlightenment as a master narrative can be seen to have been uncritically appropriated by the political right, notably by Keith Windschuttle (1994; 2002). Windschuttle's *Fabrication of Aboriginal History* was challenged by Manne (2003), and by Macintyre and Clark (2004), but his views were generally supported by Australian prime minister John Howard. Windschuttle was seen by his opponents as promoting a denialist approach to Indigenous relations, disputing the numbers of dead in events in Tasmania, but worse, according to Macintyre & Clark (2004), failing to demonstrate any real empathy with the oppressed group.

It is worth pausing to bring Canada into the equation. Canada too has had its 'history wars', mostly seen in the work of Jack Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (1998). Ruth Sandwell (in Taylor & Guyver, 2011) in a set of eighteen interviews with key players, places Granatstein's work in the context of developments in Canadian internal politics as well as its public and school history, including the Quiet Revolution and debates over the future of Québec. Sandwell's conclusions are that the teaching and learning of history has been reformed since what Seixas (2009) has called 'the Granatstein moment', but not necessarily in ways that Granatstein wanted. Grantastein had succeeded in getting public funding for a military museum and even the *Historica Foundation*, but there was resistance to his view that politics and military history should form the core of historical education in schools. Rather, as Anna Clark (2009) had observed and predicted, the national history discussion had transformed almost into a consensus among a younger generation of historians and educators that an evaluation of *multiple narratives* of the Canadian and Québecois experience had now become accepted practice.

There can be no doubt that many cruel, unjustifiable and blatantly racist acts were committed in the era of colonisation which ran parallel with the European Enlightenment. Land appropriation and the introduction or imposition of Western lifestyles had a serious and often fatal impact on Indigenous peoples, and clearly this includes Maori, although there are considerable differences in the three sets of contact histories in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and indeed

between the people themselves. One set of factors is the existence in New Zealand of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the lack of a similar treaty in Australia. Although at higher levels of education Enlightenment narratives need to be taught alongside Counter-Enlightenment narratives, which criticise the original driving forces of the Enlightenment, there have to be certain caveats, such as that seen in the work of Horkheimer and Adorno and the Frankfurt School. For example the Romanticism movement which grew out of Counter-Enlightenment perspectives has been blamed for giving philosophical underpinning and credibility to highly ethnicised, exclusive forms of nationalism such as that adopted in Nazi Germany. Also, Grayling (2010: 163-4) criticises the Frankfurt School for failing to recognise that Stalinism and its form of totalitarianism was another example of the instrumental rationality and bureaucratic politics that they despised. He offers a definition of 'Enlightenment' which moves it beyond the sterile and polarised debate which stalled progress in Australia, but which may still lack the deeper sense of empathy which is needed to overcome the sense of displacement:

> What people mean today by 'Enlightenment values' is an updated and somewhat idealized – but no less valid – version of the values that the eighteenth-century Enlightenment embodied. They can be listed as a set of commitments: to pluralism, individual autonomy, democracy, the rule of law, tolerance, science, reason, secularism, equality, humanistic ethics, education, and the promotion and protection of human rights and civil liberties. None of these are mere abstractions, and the difference they make to the lives of individuals is vast. Only compare the life of the ordinary man and woman in a Western country today with the lives of their forbears three or four centuries ago, or with many of their fellows today in developing countries, especially those where religion means a dominating influence over people's lives. The transforming effect of Enlightenment ideas in history is plain to see: and as admirable as it is plain. (Grayling, 2010: 164)

Grayling may have fallen into the trap of generalisation both in his consideration of religion and in his privileging of the 'ordinary man and woman in a Western country'. Indeed, his view of religion needs to be balanced by Habermas's trenchant analysis of the equal treatment of cultures and the limits of postmodern liberalism':

> Insofar as they act in their role as citizens, secularized citizens may neither fundamentally deny truth-potential to religious worldviews nor deny the right of believing citizens to make public contributions to public discussion in religious language. (Habermas, 2005: 27-28)

Grayling's Enlightenment may well not have reached a large proportion of the non-Western world, although as a theoretical aspiration

it has much to recommend it. What had happened in the discussion about Australian history was in fact a debate about Enlightenment hermeneutics. Gadamer sees a historical progression around the interpretation of texts, through the Reformation's reappraisal of scriptural texts to the Enlightenment's adoption of scientific method. Indeed, the case of Australia reinforces Gadamer's recognition of the tensions between 'truth' and 'method' because of the possibility of some distance between the original intention of the text and the interpreter's view of it. It is only by unpacking cases like the Coniston Massacre in the Northern Territory in 1928, using hermeneutics and fusing the horizons of Western and Indigenous perceptions of law and social justice, that some mutual understanding can be reached (Albert, 2010, and Guyver, 2011).

There needs to be a 'deep history' with an accompanying 'deep understanding' of the series of events that led to the settlement of New Zealand by the British and by Europeans, and to the subsequent narrative of relations between Maori as *tangata whenua* (the original people of the land) and Pakeha (European mainly white settlers) as *tangata Tiriti* (the people of the Treaty [of Waitangi, 1840]). Pre-contact Maori history also clearly needs to be a key part of an overall programme. A study of the hundred and eighty years in world history between 1660 and 1840 can provide a bridge of understanding which must be of benefit to New Zealand citizens. The continuation of the story of what John Darwin (2009) refers to as 'the Empire Project' and the 'British World-System' up to the decades following the Second World War (possibly to the 1970s) clearly affects New Zealand, and it needs to be studied not as debate-closing, certainist or triumphalist colonial narrative but as a species of historiography adaptable for schools where there are multiple interpretations. The economic history element – the trade – provides another narrative that can accompany and enrich the political one.

Byrnes (2009) in her chapter about the reframing of New Zealand history seems to find common ground with this decentred view of British imperial history and sees in it a way ahead for the contextualisation of a decentred New Zealand history:

> Historians elsewhere have been arguing for some time that the general history genre must shrug off the 'straitjacket' of nation. In the former British colonies, including Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, there have been calls to move beyond nationalist histories and build 'transnational' bridges between the histories of those places. The revival of studies of what is known as 'British world' scholarship attempts to bridge the divide between British imperial history – that written large-

> ly from and authored by the metropolis or the 'centre' – with the histories of the former British colonies. As Angela Woollacott has argued (2006: 1), 'the British Empire was always shifting and never a stable unit, its boundaries continually contested, its territorial control changing, and the colonial regimes that constituted it constantly responding to new challenges'. (2009: 8)

In a sense both Australia and New Zealand during the period after contact were very significant microhistories of the bigger picture of the British 'World-System'. But within the 'national' story, a concept challenged and deconstructed by Byrnes (2009), local subsets can exemplify developments through microhistorical narratives with the corresponding support of archives that will allow much closer examination to be brought to the events.

There are nevertheless dangers in seeking to provide too much curriculum structure for schools. The previous Australian Government under John Howard wanted a set of landmark events or milestones in the curriculum, but the sheer length of the list and its apparent over-prescriptiveness was challenged by historian John Hirst and others at a Summit in 2006, and a compromise solution was reached whereby at Hirst's suggestion a shorter list of milestones would become 'milestones and questions' which were eventually offered to a younger age group (Taylor in Taylor & Guyver, 2011). John Hirst, author of *The Shortest History of Europe* (2010), is a believer in the quick overview of 'big picture' history, into which teachers can later insert the microhistories. Tony Taylor, himself a key player in this, insisted that any curriculum had to be 'teachable, doable and sustainable', and tells this story as an insider in the Summit process.

Growing public interest in history

One feature of 'civil society', as defined by Michael Edwards (2009) is 'the public sphere', and both history as a general subject and as a school curriculum area are topics that would fall in the category of issues suitable for attention within that sphere. The publication of popular histories, by Michael King (2003), James Belich (1986, 1996, 2001) and Dalley et al. (2005) co-incided with two significant sets of televised histories: *The New Zealand Wars* (1998) and *Frontier of Dreams* (2005). There was an earlier series, a drama entitled *The Governor* (1977) with Corin Redgrave as Governor Sir George Grey. Remarkably *Frontier of Dreams* was a project funded by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and involved reputable historians in the production of the book and the television series. Indeed the thirteen programmes have been used in schools, and themselves offer a potential framework whether it is approached chronologically or thematically:

> The Last Place on Earth; Treasure Islands – 1250 to 1769; When Worlds Collide – 1769 to 1839; Flags and Nations – 1839 to 1850; The Explosive

> Frontier – 1848 to 1882; Rush to be Rich – 1848 to 1882; God's Own Country – 1880 to 1913; The Price of Empire – 1897 to 1918; The Rise and Fall of Happy Homes – 1918 to 1935; Hope and Heroes –1935 to 1949; The Golden Weather – 1949 to 1965; Generations – 1965 to 1984; Breaking Free – 1984 to the present**.**

John Parker wrote a follow-up four-volume set of books for children and students (2005, sadly now out of print). This body of work (Dalley et al, and Parker) was an attempt to interpret the national narrative for the younger generation, and can be seen alongside work by Marcia Stenson (*Illustrated History of New Zealand*, 2004) and the much more recent *Awesome Aotearoa* (2009) by novelist Margaret Mahy (illustrated by Trace Hodgson). The Belich series of 1998 which followed his book of twelve years earlier embedded a revisionist view of New Zealand history. In his work he offered two significant new interpretations: Maori as successful military tacticians and strategists who very nearly won the Land Wars (Belich, 1986), and the notion of recolonisation (Belich, 2001). This corresponded with the Maori renaissance of the 1980s, and hit a nerve which met with public approval. A third of theory-set of his has recently emerged: colonies as British 'Wests' in the world-wide story of the settler revolution (Belich, 2009). Claudia Orange's classic work on the Treaty of Waitangi (1987) also attracted public attention especially when it was republished in an illustrated version (2003).

Thus there is no shortage of public interest in history. Buildings and sites in the care of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust as well as a number of museums and other historic sites around the country . Example of these includethe Kauri Museum in Matakohe in Northland; the buildings and sites in the Kororipo-Kerikeri Basin (Kororipo Pa, the Stone Store and the Kemp [Mission] House); the Treaty House at Waitangi; and Maiki Hill Historic Flagpole Site outside Russell. These have no dirth of visitors, and this element in public history in New Zealand has been evaluated by Gavin MacLean (in Dalley et al., 2001), concluding in the words of art critic Robert Hughes, that 'the claims of the past do need to be heard' (p. 172). This public debate feeds into the notion of historical significance, as many of these places are sites where important events or developments happened. Defining significance is a matter for further educational and historical research (Sheehan, 2010). There needs to be some coherent thinking about public interest, access to a complex national narrative and what sites contribute to the understanding of this narrative. Local history is one of the most powerful vehicles for stimulating interest in history among primary age children. Paterson

& Mulgrew (2010) have taken Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill in Auckland) as a significant site (a pa, or a castle, on the hill). Delamain (2006) uses the early life of Elizabeth Kemp as the core of her story about life in the mission in Kerikeri in the 19th century and relations with Maori. The significance of the Kororipo-Kerikeri basin is demonstrated not only in a local working group report published Department of Conservation report which includes a section 'statement of Kororipo cultural significance' (2005/2007) but also a series of essays edited by Judith Binney (2007). The body of work based on this site or series of sites itself demonstrates Bruner's spiral curriculum in action because the available resources, including the site itself, can be interpreted by all age-groups.

The strong link between citizenship, belonging and significance is illustrated in the transnational possibilities offered by a Ministry of Education report *Belonging and Participating in Society* (2008) which gives Anzac Day[1] (April 25th) as an example of using a significant historical event as an opportunity for participation leading to a sense of ownership and belonging. It quotes a Turkish shopkeeper as saying 'Gelibolu [Turkish for Gallipoli] is our battlefield, too. We also go to remember our fathers and grandfathers. We make sure they are well cared for today'. Of course Anzac Day is also observed in the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa and Tonga.

What is a history curriculum?

There may well be misconceptions about what a history curriculum is or has to be. Although it can be a structure written by and acted on by individual teachers, more commonly it would be devised by a whole school, so it does not necessarily have to be fully handed down by governments. Neither does it have to consist solely of national history, nor does it have to be taught in a didactic, transmissive way. However in order for a curriculum to reach successive age-ranges within the school system (and be relevant for them), the joined-up thinking would have to include solutions for the avoidance of repetition, and this may well would require a regional or national approach. There do not have to be *only* compulsory or core units. Ideally there should be core and choice (elective units or school-constructed ones). History can also be taught thematically or within a theme (especially for younger children). But thematic history can be part of a curriculum and does not have to dominate it. History can be taught through overview and focus where the focus includes some choice (for example in England there is a unit which depends on an overview of Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Viking settlements after which the teacher can focus on just one).

Content needs to be seen as context, or at least as a contextual frame of reference (Rogers, 1979). The theory of expanding horizons (Kieran Egan, 1983) is relevant, but also contestable. This relates to starting with the child and the child's immediate environment and moving outwards geographically and backwards chronologically. Children can nevertheless respond well to stories from the much more distant past, especially when they involve clear characterisations. Knowledge base theory can be used to reduce the stereotyping of content into recitative fact that is taught unimaginatively. It can be traced back to Ryle's (1949) categorisation of knowledge into 'know how' and 'know that', refined by Schwab (1978) into the new but Ryle-based nomenclature of 'syntactic' and 'substantive' knowledge bases. Further work was undertaken by Turner-Bisset (2001) who argued that teachers could have 'amalgam' of knowledge bases.

Bruner's spiral curriculum theory (Bruner, 1960, 1966, 1977), when added to the other body of research on knowledge bases, has the potential to take the element of political polemics about 'content' out of the debate, replacing it with a more technical orientation, and allowing instead for a more neutral view of a teacher's knowledge as substantive, syntactic or even pedagogic. Indeed Bruner was later seeing subjects as textual communities (Stock, 1983 in Bruner 1996), and this links to communities of practice and even knowledge as a communable construct, where communities of school students and the adult population perhaps with the help of academics, can co-construct local histories (as was demonstrated by television historian Michael Wood in his *The Story of England*, 2010). Here Wood led a community's investigation into how the history of a cluster of Leicestershire villages illustrated the whole history of England. Students from local schools undertook field-work and archaeological digs. A rich archive of land management held at Merton College Oxford was drawn upon to show change and continuity from the Middle Ages to the present. Bruner's spiral template is an earlier form of suggestion that curriculum subjects can reflect even with very young children the very nature or disciplinary aspects of the subject at more mature levels. Wood's community project is an example of this. Vygotsky's social constructivism (1978) and the recently developed set of theories around dialogic learning and teaching (Bakhtin, 1986; Mercer and Littleton, 2007; Alexander in Mercer & Hodgkinson, 2008) are also relevant in a more open approach to history pedagogy – the history is being shared and discussed. There have been challenges to Piaget's view of fixed age-abilities in children's understanding of the past, and especially of their chronological awareness (Donaldson, 1978; and West, 1980; 1981). Higher expectations of students of all ages yield more

promising results. John West in particular showed that when given strong guidance especially in the comparative use of artefacts, documents and pictures, especially in the context of known sites, children could perform well above expectations.

There needs to be a balance between the development of skills/conceptual understanding and contextual knowledge within the overall development of historical literacy or historical thinking. Useful here is the checklist provided within Peter Seixas's Benchmarks website:

1. Establish historical significance
2. Use primary source evidence
3. Identify continuity and change
4. Analyze cause and consequence
5. Take historical perspectives, and
6. Understand the ethical dimension of historical interpretations.
   (Seixas, http://historybenchmarks.ca/concepts)

There are echoes here of existing structures within the Social Studies curriculum, for example 'continuity and change', but on his Benchmarks website Seixas adds that 'Taken together, these concepts tie "historical thinking" to competencies in "historical literacy". In this case, 'historical literacy' means gaining a deep understanding of historical events through active engagement with historical texts'. He adds that historically literate citizens can assess such claims that there was no Holocaust, that slavery wasn't so bad for African-Americans, and that the Russian experience in Afghanistan serves as a warning about the current mission there. They will be provided with thoughtful ways to handle these debates through their ability to assess historical sources. They will know that a historical film can look 'realistic' without being accurate.

> In short, they can detect the differences, as Margaret MacMillan phrases it in her recent book title [*The Uses and Abuses of History*, 2008], between the uses and abuses of history. 'Historical thinking' only becomes possible in relation to substantive content. These concepts are not abstract 'skills'. Rather, they provide the structure that shapes the practice of history. (Seixas, http://historybenchmarks.ca/concepts)

Thinking needs also to be accompanied by doing, by experiential and active learning. However these principles on their own cannot solve the problems that need to be addressed in constructing a curriculum. At each age stage, indeed as Seixas suggests, there need to be suitable

contexts within which the thinking and doing can be undertaken. This involves making decisions about geographical areas and chronologies. Broadly, over the school years students need to experience a judicious selection from ancient, middle and modern periods and a selection of histories from a suitable range of local, national, regional and global contexts. There needs to be a coherent rationale for this, and a resistance to demands which fail to get the balance right between breadth and depth.

The notion of comparative or even transnational histories is relevant for New Zealand as it has some things in common with other Commonwealth countries, perhaps especially Canada and Australia, but New Zealand's position in the southern part of the Pacific needs to be considered as well as its relative proximity to Asia. The Asian dimension has been specifically mentioned in Australia's new history curriculum (ACARA, December 8th 2010).

Transforming domain knowledge into knowledge suitable for the classroom

Hameyer's paper on transforming domain knowledge into what is enacted and experienced is useful. The teacher is reconstructing, reducing, focusing, integrating, reconceptualizing, selecting and simplifying (2007: 416). But in this case (history) first the teacher has to understand the domain knowledge and its essential nature. The work of Wilson & Wineburg is relevant here. How does a teacher transfom academic subject knowledge into suitable material for teaching and learning?

Jacques Barzun (1985 in Wilson & Wineburg, 1988: 537-538) offers an insight in how history, although it concerns itself with the past as its raw material, goes well beyond that past.

> A sense of history does not reside in any set of bound books. It is something in someone's head; and that something, though born of natural curiosity, has to be cultivated in a certain way, by reading genuine history. Let me say again what recognized, acknowledged historians have always understood to be genuine: it is a narrative that sets forth a chain of motive, action, result. The sequence in time – chronology – must be clear. Dates are important solely for the purpose of orientation in the stream of motives, actions, results. The chain need not be long ... but it must be thick, for the motives and actions, being those of many individuals, are always tangled, and the results cannot be understood unless a full view of that preceding tangle is given.

The hermeneutic role of the teacher is at the very core of the whole process, providing what Hexter (1971) referred to as a 'second record' through which the first record or the original archive is experienced. Hexter claimed that potentially the second record embraced these

qualities that the historian (or teacher of history) possessed: skills; range of knowledge; set of mind; the substance, quality and character of experience; total consciousness (1971, p. 104). Hexter asserted that every time a historian (or in this case teacher of history) moved explicitly orr implicitly from the record of the past to a historical assertion *abou*t the past, the second record was being drawn upon. This was based on the historian being able to claim that there are grounds in the second record for the assertion the first record means what s/he says it means. Hexter went on to say that in this way the historian/history teacher makes some part of his/her second record, hitherto private and inaccessible, public and accessible, open to criticism and evaluation (1971: 106).

Dean described the teacher's interventions or interpretations in Hexter's sense as essentially a 'surrogate second record'. This is a branch of active hermeneutics where teachers must guard against over-influencing children and students in their care.

> If children are to 'do history', they need access to the first record. Their second records are necessarily restricted by their age and experience, so the teacher's role is to provide a surrogate second record. The result of the interaction between first and second records is a creative construct, supported by evidence and fleshed out by an informed imagination. (Dean, 1995: 2)

Curriculum as Ongoing Conversation: A Flexible and Inclusive Debate

Sheehan's doctoral study of how the history senior subject curriculum was dominated by privileged elite sub-groups (2008) offers a significant lesson. In any future curriculum review there would seem to be a strong case for the representation of these groups: Maori, perhaps also other ethnic groups within New Zealand, women, teachers, history and social studies/social sciences teacher educators, historians, heritage providers, the general public. According to Sheehan, in the 1980s Maori history was under-represented, as indeed were advocates for New Zealand history itself. Similarly relevant is Carol Bertram's doctoral work on the theory and practice of curriculum recontextualisation in South Africa (2008), especially her use of Bernstein's notion of horizontal and vertical discourses which were part of the interplay between various recontextualising rules and fields. First the discourse had to be *produced* typically with the involvement of historians, teacher educators and 'expert' teachers, then *officially* recontextualised (within a national bureaucracy) and subsequently recontextualised *pedagogically* both in training and in the field of reproduction (the classroom itself).

The idea of a widely representative standing committee that is cross-party reduces the possibility of 'party' history (Lee in Aldrich, 1991). But it would need strong leadership (for example, see Phillips 1998 and Guyver, 2011, on what happened in England during and after the deliberations and reports of the National Curriculum History Working Group). These are Peter Lee's thoughts on a suitable, party-politics-defying set of curriculum frameworks:

> A framework must meet the entirely sensible criteria of continuity and progression laid down by the government. It cannot meet these if it consists of a list of events, people and dates which are to be learned as discrete items of information and tested as such. In a spurious framework of this kind progression could be defined only in terms of accumulation: levels would be differentiated according to whether pupils knew one fact, ten facts or 20, and continuity would consist only in the maintenance of chronological order, whatever gaps and incoherence became apparent. How can a framework be constructed which avoids such absurdities, and yet does not fall into the trap of offering 'the story' of British history of the kind which would make it (in the Soviet sense) 'Party history'? Several criteria suggest themselves.

Lee's view of a framework was that it should have these characteristics: an overview; capable of rapid presentation; thematic and developmental; a progressive structure; an open structure; a usable structure (Lee, in Aldrich 1991: 59 – 60). There are echoes here of the Taylor-Hirst experience in the Australian Summit of 2006, especially around the notion of 'doable, usable' structures. Hirst demonstrated in his *Shortest History of Europe* (2010*)* the possibility of offering rapid presentations of overviews.

The Related Model of Citizenship

Just as in Australia there is a historical dimension to what it means to be an Aussie, so also in New Zealand there is a historical dimension to what it means to be a Kiwi. Here there are things about both process and content. The ability to discuss and debate a contested and controversial past goes hand-in-hand with a revised sense of national identity (which recognises hybrid, plural or multiple identities), and space in the curriculum to examine and indeed question landmarks in key areas such as inclusion, human rights and social justice. Graeme Aitken's doctoral work (2005), which hypothesises a greater place for citizenship studies within the Social Studies framework, and the report of the Values team at University of Waikato (Paul Keown, et al., 2005), can feed into the debate. A history curriculum can provide both of these elements: both a critical stance to the past and a growing personal, family, national, transnational and therefore inclusive sense of civic ownership about New Zealand's past.

This is not just a simple polarised choice, as in the case of the so-called history wars in Australia between either a celebratory ('whitewash') or a denigatory ('black armband') attitude to events during the years of colonisation or, in the case of New Zealand, the contested period interpreted as recolonisation. The middle way is critically evaluative.

The initiating of a constitutional review in New Zealand in December 2010 by a government which is a coalition of National and the Maori Party clearly has consequences both for citizenship and for citizenship education. Two aspects of the review seem to have implications for history within the education system. One is the commitment to a public debate about this, and the other is the promise that full consideration will be given to the role within the constitution of the Treaty of Waitangi. Of course there has already been debate about this announcement as it has been declared that the future of the monarchy and the possibility of a republic will not be discussed – not this time anyway.

It is possible to see the Treaty of Waitangi as an event within a much bigger set of narratives of civil government forming a thick chain of sequences in two great parabolic sweeps. One is from the city-states of Northern Italy in pre- and early Renaissance times (Skinner, 1978a, 1978b), through or even despite British history to America and the North Atlantic (Clark, 2003; Pocock, 1999, 2005). The other is the great Pacific sweep whereby Maori and Pacific people settled in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Walker, 2004; Anderson in Byrnes, 2009). There was more than one set of *Discovery of Islands* (Pocock, 2005). Indeed the very title of a further work of Pocock's (1975 [2003]) suggests this – *The Machiavellian Moment – Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*). The whole notion of checks and balances on governing representatives and officials, from the rules restricting the residence of city treasurers in northern Italy in the 13th century to the disputes about taxation and representation in the American colonies of the mid-18th century. To give even greater breadth to this narrative there is also the case of India, seen in conjunction with developments in America (c.1750 – 1783), not as a second British Empire, but as part of the whole imperial experience in a work by Peter Marshall that combines scholarship with cautious revisionism (2005). The analysis of Daniel Hulsebosch (2005) of how a culture of constitutional law developed in New York out of decades of political and legal turmoil, is also relevant as it is an analysis of how empire itself was constituted. This narrative has been taken forward by Bernard Cadogan in his doctoral thesis on how Governor Sir George Grey 'reconsitituted' the indigene in New Zealand (2010). The

emphasis here is on 'reconstitute' as it assumes that Maori already had laws, rights and a constitution (see also Hight & Bamford, 1914). These connections, between European and North American political, legal and constitutional ideologies on the one hand and events in New Zealand on the other can shed light on what might otherwise be seen in isolating or even isolationist terms. They also give an example of the challenging nature of 'deep' history.

The historical period during which the Treaty was written relates also to the local history of a stretch of the North Island from Te Kerikeri to Kororareka (Russell) – a history consisting of Maori *iwi* (tribes) and *rangatira* (chiefs), missions, missionaries and Crown representatives (Orange, 1987, 2003; Ross, 2006; Binney, 2007; Newman, 2010). The sequence of events which also includes the Declaration of Independence of 1835, is important for anyone seeking to understand the present situation. But, according to Myra Kunowski (2005, 2006) the history of the Treaty is not well-taught in New Zealand's schools.

Conclusions

There are strong arguments for a reconsideration of the place of history in New Zealand's schools. One of the clearest of these is the emergence of a strong international rationale for history education based on historical thinking and a perception of the professional role of the teacher as a surrogate negotiator for students who are themselves negotiating between multiple narratives not only of the nation, but of the locality, the region and the world. In New Zealand where a constitutional review has been announced, the Social Studies curriculum needs to be re-examined not only to strengthen the place of citizenship studies in schools (Aitken, 2005; Ministry of Education, 2008), but also the historical dimension of citizenship. This could offer much greater opportunities for the explanation of social, political and economic developments in contexts that reflect the historical complexities of the origins of the current situation. What still needs to move into the arena of public debate is whether there is a case for an overlap between a core narrative of an agreed, inclusive, hitherto and recently bi-cultural civic society in New Zealand and the multiple narratives of the range of groups to be found in New Zealand, their plural identities and their associated values (Keown et al., 2005). Work by Jon A. Levisohn summarises the qualities needed:

> Nevertheless, gaining some insight into these interpretive virtues will contribute to our efforts as theorists of education, who aspire to provide whether we carried out the task of negotiating among narratives with responsibility, with the right kind of creativity, with openness to disconfir-

matory evidence, and with the particular combination of boldness and modesty that marks good historiography – boldness that accompanies a story that we believe others ought to endorse, together with the modesty that derives from our knowledge of the ways that historical interpretations change over time. (2010: 16)

Note

1. Anzac day is observed as a national remembrance day on 25 April in both Australia and New Zealand to honour members of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) who fought in Gallipoli in Turkey in World War 1. Since World War II the day also commemorates all those who died or served in subsequent military engagements for their respective countries.

References

ACARA (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority) http://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/History/Rationale (The Australian History Curriculum Rationale), accessed February 21st 2011.

Aitken, G. (2005) *Curriculum Design in New Zealand Social Studies: Learning from the Past*. Doctor of Education thesis. School of Education: The University of Auckland.

Aitken, G. & Sinnema, C. (2008) *Effective Pedagogy in Social Sciences/Tikanga ā Iwi: Best Evidence Synthesis Iteration*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Albert, T. (2010) *Remembering Coniston (First Australians: Plenty Stories)*. Sydney: Pearson Education.

Aldrich, R. (Ed.) *History in the National Curriculum*. London: Institute of Education, University of London, Bedford Way Series.

Alexander, R.J. (2008) 'Culture, dialogue and learning: notes on an emerging pedagogy', in N. Mercer, & S. Hodgkinson (Eds.).

Anderson, A. (2009) 'Origins, Settlement and Society in Pre-European South Polynesia', Chapter 2, 21-46, in Byrnes (Ed.).

Bakhtin, M. (1986) *Speech genres and other late essays (University of Texas Press Slavic Series, No 8)*. Austin: University of Texas

Barr, R., Barth, J. & Shermis (1978) *The Nature of Social Studies*. Palm Springs, CA.: Etc Publications.

Barzun, J. (1985) 'Walter Prescott Webb and the fate of History,' in D. Rinehart and S.E. Maizlish (Eds.).

Belgrave, M. (2001) 'Something Borrowed, Something New: History and the Waitangi Tribunal', Chapter 5, 92-109, in B.Dalley & J.Phillips (Eds.).

Belich, J. (1986) *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

Belich, J. (1996) *Making Peoples – A History of the New Zealanders – From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Pres.

Belich, J. (2001) *Paradise Reforged: a History of the New Zealanders – From the 1880s to the Year 2000*. Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ).

Belich, J. (2009) *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bernstein, B. (1999) 'Vertical and horizontal discourse: an essay', *British*

Journal of Sociology of Education, 20(2), 157-173.
Bertram, C. (2008) *Curriculum recontextualisation: a case study of the South African high school history curriculum*, Unpublished PhD, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
Binney, J. (Ed.) (2007) *Te Kerikeri: the Meeting Pool*. Wellington and Nelson: Bridget Williams Books in association with Craig Potton Publishing.
Binney, J. (2009) *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera 1820-1921*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
Bruner, J.S. (1960) *The Process of Education.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Bruner, J.S. (1966) *Toward a Theory of Instruction*. London: Oxford University Press.
Bruner, J.S. (1977) *The Process of Education, Second Edition*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Bruner (1996) *The Culture of Education*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Byrnes, G. (2001) 'Jackals of the Crown? Historians and the Treaty Claims Process', Chapter 6, 110-122, in B.Dalley and J.Phillips, (Eds.).
Byrnes, G. (Ed.) (2009) *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
Byrnes, G. (2009) 'Introduction: Reframing New Zealand History', Chapter 1, 1-18, in G. Byrnes (Ed).
Cadogan, B. (2010) *'Constituting the settler colony and reconstituting the indigene: the native administration and constitutionalism of Sir George Grey K.C.B during his two New Zealand governorships (1845-1853, 1861-68) until the outbreak of the Waikato War in 1863'*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Faculty of Modern History, University of Oxford.
Catherall, S. (2002a) 'Teaching of NZ history a "disgrace"', *Sunday Star Times*, 3 February.
Catherall, S. (2002b) 'Teen Knowledge of NZ Events is History', *Sunday Star Times*, 10 February.
Clark, A. (2009) 'Teaching the nation's story: Comparing public debates and classroom perspectives of history education in Australia and Canada', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(6), 745-762.
Clark, A. (2006) *Teaching the Nation: Politics and Pedagogy in Australian History*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
Clark, J.C.D. (2003) *Our Shadowed Present: Modernism, Postmodernism and History*. London: Atlantic Books.
Codd, J. (1997) 'Knowledge, qualifications and higher education: a critical view, in: M. Olssen & K. Morris Matthews (Eds.) *Education policy in New Zealand: the 1990s and beyond*, 130-144. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press. Cited in T.Locke et al. (2005).
Dalley, B. & Phillips, J. (2001) *Going Public: the Changing Face of New Zealand History*. Auckland: University of Auckland Press.
Dalley, B. & MacLean, G. (2005) *Frontier of Dreams: The Story of New Zealand*. Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett.
Darwin, J. (2009) *The Empire Project – The Rise and Fall of the British World*

System, 1830-1970. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Dean, J. (1995) *Teaching History at Key Stage 2*. Cambridge: Chris Kington Publishing.
Delamain, B. (2006) *Lizzie, love*. Dunedin: Longacre Press. (The story of Elizabeth Kemp, Kerikeri)
The Kororipo-Kerikeri Basin Plan Working Group (2005/2007) *Sustainable Development Plan for the Kororipo-Kerikeri Basin*. Wellington: Department of Conservation.
Donaldson, M. (1978) *Children's Minds*. London: Fontana.
Edwards, M. (2009) *Civil Society, 2nd Edition*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Egan, K. (1983) 'Social Studies and the Erosion of Education', *Curriculum Inquiry*, 13(2).
Else, A. (2001) 'History Lessons: The Public History You Get When You're Not Getting any Public History', Chapter 7, 123-140, in B. Dalley & J. Phillips.
Gadamer, H-G. (1975 [2004]) *Truth and Method*. London: Continuum.
Gilbert, R. (1996) *Studying Society and Environment: a Handbook for Teachers*. Melbourne: Macmillan.
Grayling, A.C. (2010) *Ideas that Matter: a Personal Guide for the 21st Century*. London: Phoenix.
Guyver, R. (2007) 'The History Curriculum in Three Countries – Curriculum Balance, National Identity, Prescription and Teacher Autonomy: The Cases of England, New Zealand and South Africa', *International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research*, 7(1), http://www.centres.exeter.ac.uk/historyresource/journal13/Guyver%2022.08.07.doc, accessed February 21st 2011.
Guyver, R. (2008) 'Identity, belonging and the case for valuing an historical perspective', *Escalate Research Papers in Education Series*, Spring, http://escalate.ac.uk/4555, accessed February 21st 2011.
Guyver, R. (2011) 'School history and the teaching of narrative: from certainty to negotiation', *Agora*, 46 (1), 38-45.
Guyver, R. (2011) 'The History Working Group and Beyond : A Case Study in the UK's History Quarrels', Chapter 10, in Taylor, T. & Guyver, R. (eds.).
Guyver, R. & Taylor, T. (Eds.) (2011) *History Wars in the Classroom – Global Perspectives*. Charlotte NC: Information Age Publishing.
Habermas, J. (2005) 'Equal treatment of cultures and the limits of postmodern liberalism', *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 13 (1),1-28.
Hamayer, U. (2007) 'Transforming domain knowledge: a systemic view at the school curriculum', *Curriculum Journal*, 18(4), 411-427.
Hexter, J.H. (1971) *The History Primer*. New York: Basic Books.
Hight, J. & Bamford, H.D. (1914) *The Constitutional History and Law of New Zealand*. Christchurch, Wellington and Dunedin: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd. (Available as a Nabu Public Domain Reprint)
Hill, B. (1994) *Teaching Secondary School Social Studies in a Multi-Cultural Society*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
Hill, R. (2009) 'Maori and State Policy', Chapter 21, 513-536, in G. Byrnes (Ed.).
Hirst, J. (2010) *The Shortest History of Europe*. Tiverton, Devon, UK: Old Street Publishing.
Hirst, J. http://www.themonthly.com.au/official-history-australia-john-hirst-781, accessed February 21st 2011.

Hirst, J. http://www.themonthly.com.au/files/John-Hirst_Story-of-Australia.pdf, accessed February 21st 2011.
Hulsebosch, D. (2005) *Constituting Empire – New York and the Transformation of Constitutionalism in the Atlantic World*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
Keown, P., Parker, L. and Tiakiwai, S. (2005) *Values in the New Zealand Curriculum: A Final Report on Values in the New Zealand Curriculum*. The University of Waikato School of Education and Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research.
King, M. (2003) *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin.
Kohlmeier, J. (2006) 'The impact of having 9th graders "do history"', *The History Teacher*, 38(4), accessed February 20th from www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/38.4/kohlmeier.html, cited in G. Aitken & C. Sinnema.
Kunowski, M. (2005) *Teaching about the Treaty of Waitangi: Examining the nature of teacher knowledge and classroom practice*, EdD thesis. Brisbane: Griffith University.
Kunowski, M. (2006) 'Teaching about the Treaty of Waitangi and related issues in the Social Studies classroom', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 41 (2), 223-239.
Lee, P.J. (991) 'Historical Knowledge and the National Curriculum', in R. Aldrich (Ed.).
Levisohn, J.A. (2010) 'Negotiating historical narratives: an epistemology of history for history education', *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 44 (1), 1-21.
Locke, T., Vulliamy, G., Webb, R. & Hill, M. (2005) 'Being a "professional" primary school teacher at the beginning of the 21st century: a comparative analysis of primary teacher professionalism in New Zealand and England', *Journal of Education Policy*, 20 (5), 555-581.
Low-Beer, A. (1986) 'The eclipse of history in New Zealand schools', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 21(2), 113-122.
Macintyre, S. & Clark, A. (2004) *The History Wars*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
MacMillan, M. (2009) *The Uses and Abuses of History*. Profile Books: London.
Manne, R. (Ed.) (2004) *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*. Collingwood, Victoria: Black Inc.
Marsh, C. (Ed.) (1987) *Teaching Social Studies*. Sydney: Prentice-Hall.
Marshall, P. (2005) *The Making and Unmaking of Empires – Britain, India and America c. 1750-1783*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mahy, M. (author) & Hodgson, T. (illustrator) (2009) *Awesome Aotearoa*. Auckland: AUT Media.
Mercer, N. & Hodgkinson, S. (Eds.) (2008) *Exploring Talk in School*. London: Sage.
Mercer, N. & Littleton, K. (2007*) Dialogue and the Development of Children's Thinking: a sociocultural approach*. London: Routledge.
Ministry of Education (2008) *Building Conceptual Understandings in the Social Sciences: Belonging and Participating in Society*. Wellington: Learning Media Ltd.
Newman, K. (2010) *Bible and Treaty – Missionaries among the Maori – a New Perspective*. Auckland: Penguin (NZ).

New Zealand Department of Education (NZDOE) (1943) *The post-primary school curriculum*. Wellington: Government Printer. (*Report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Education in November 1942, [The Thomas Report]*).

New Zealand Government (2011) *'Minister pays tribute to Dame Judith Binney'* (Arts Culture and Heritage Minister, Christopher Finlayson) http://www.nznewsuk.co.uk/news/?id=15826&story=Minister-pays-tribute-to-Dame-Judith-Binney, February 16th, accessed February 21st 2011.

Nozaki, Y., Openshaw, R. & Luke, A. (Eds.) (2005) *Curriculum, Texts, and Pedagogy in the Asia-Pacific*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Openshaw, R. (2005) '... Nothing Objectionable or Controversial', The Image of Maori Ethnicity and 'Difference' in New Zealand Social Studies, Chapter 2, 25-40, in Y. Nozaki, R. Openshaw & A.Luke (Eds.).

Orange, C. (1987) *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Orange, C. (2003) *An Illustrated History of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Paterson, M. (author) & Mulgrew, L. (illustrator) (2010) *The Castle in our Backyard*. Auckland: Libro International. (Maungakiekie/One Tree Hill)

Phillips, R. (1998) *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State – a Study in Educational Politics*. London: Cassell.

Pocock, J.G.A. (1975 [2003]) *The Machiavellian Moment – Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Pocock, J.G.A. (2005) *The Discovery of Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pocock, J.G.A. (1999) *Barbarism and Religion, Volume 2: Narratives of Civil Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rinehart, D. & Maizlish, S.E. (Eds.) (1985) *Essays on Walter Prescott Webb and Teaching of History*. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M.

Rogers, P.J. (1979) *The New History: Theory into Practice*. London: The Historical Association.

Ross, C. (2006) *Women with a Mission – Rediscovering Missionary Wives in Early New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin (NZ).

Ryle, G. (1949) *The Concept of Mind*. London: Hutchinson.

Sandwell, R. (2011) 'We were allowed to disagree, because we couldn't agree on anything' – Seventeen voices in Canadian debates over history education, Chapter 4, in T.Taylor and R.Guyver (Eds.).

Schwab, J. (1978) 'Education and the structure of the disciplines' in Westbury, I. and Wilkof, N.J. (Eds.) *Science, Curriculum and Liberal Education*, 229 – 72. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Seixas, P. (2000) 'Schweigen die Kinder! or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?', Chapter 1, 19-37, in Stearns et al. (Eds.).

Seixas, P. *Benchmarks of Historical Thinking*, http://historybenchmarks.ca/concepts (accessed February 20th, 2011)

Seixas, P. (2009) A modest proposal for change in Canadian history education. *Teaching History*, 137, 26-32.

Sheehan, M. (2008) *'Defending the high ground.' The transformation of an academic discipline into a senior secondary school subject: A case study of the New Zealand History curriculum in the late twentieth century*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Massey University, Palmerston North, NZ.

Sheehan, M. (2010) 'The place of "New Zealand" in the New Zealand history curriculum', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42(5), 671 - 691.

Sheehan, M. (2011) 'Little is taught or learned in schools: Debates over the place of history in the New Zealand school curriculum', Chapter 7, in T. Taylor & R.Guyver (Eds.).

Skinner, Q. (1978a) *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: Volume I: The Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Skinner, Q. (1978b) *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: Volume II: The Age of Reformation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stearns, P.N., Seixas, P. & Wineburg, S. (2000) *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History – National and International Perspectives*. New York and London: New York University Press (published in conjunction with the American Historical Association).

Stenson, M. (1990) 'History in New Zealand Schools', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24(2), 168-182.

Stock, B. (1983) *The Implications of Literacy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, cited in J. Bruner (1996).

Taylor, T. (2011) 'Under Siege from Right and Left – A Tale of the Australian School History Wars', in T.Taylor and R.Guyver (Eds.).

Taylor, T. & Guyver, R. (Eds.) (2011) *History Wars and the Classroom – Global Perspectives*. Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing.

The New Zealand Curriculum Online (added 14.01. 2009) *A Position Paper: Social Studies in the New Zealand School Curriculum*, http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/Curriculum-resources/NZC-resource-bank/Social-sciences/Key-resources, accessed March 4th 2011.

Turner-Bisset, R. (2001) *Expert Teaching*. London: David Fulton.

Vygotsky, L. (1978) *Mind and Society*. Cambridge, Massachussetts: Harvard University Press.

Walker, R. (2004) *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou (Struggle Without End)*. Auckland: Penguin.

West, J. (1980) *History 7 - 13 (Guidelines, Structures and Resources with 50 Classroom Examples)*. Dudley: Dudley Teachers' Centre, Dudley Metropolitan LEA.

West, J. (1981) *Children's awareness of the past*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Keele, UK.

Westra, (1964) *Washday at the Pa*. Wellington: New Zealand Department of Education.

Williams, B. (2011) *Dame Judith Binney Obituary*, http://www.nznewsuk.co.uk/news/?id=15842&story=Obituary--Dame-Judith-Binney---New-Zealand-writer-and-historian, accessed February 21st 2011.

Wilson, S. & Wineburg, S. (1988) 'Peering at history through different lenses: the role of disciplinary perspectives in teaching history', *Teachers College Record*, 89, 525-539.

Windschuttle, K. (1996) *The Killing of History – How Literary Critics and Social Theorists are Murdering our Past*. Paddington, New South Wales: Macleay Press.

Windschuttle, K. (2004) *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History: Volume One: Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847*. Paddington, New South Wales: Macleay Press.

Woollacott, A. (2006) *Gender and Empire*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, cited in G. Byrnes (Ed.) (2009).

Wood, M. (2010) *The Story of England*. London: Viking (Penguin Group).